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This memorandum is a systematic listing and description of the salient features of English phonology and morphology, accompanied by a listing of parallel features in nonstandard dialects that account for the difficulties the speakers of nonstandard speech experience in the acquisition of standard English. The dialects considered are English as spoken in Negro subcultures and the dialect associated with a Spanish (Mexican) substratum. The information concerning Negro speech is based on various linguistic publications cited in the memorandum. The description of interference associated with a Spanish substratum is primarily inferred from a comparison of English and Spanish structure. This memorandum will be useful in training teachers of standard English as a second dialect as well as to actual practitioners in that field. The authors welcome comments, criticism, and specific suggestions concerning the language problems of speakers of nonstandard dialects and the interference with the acquisition of standard speech. A revised version is to become part of a "Syllabus for the Training of Teachers of Standard English as a Second Dialect," a project carried out within the Teaching the Disadvantaged program of the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching. (Author/DO)

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Robert L. Politzer and Diana E. Bartley

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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School of Education
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ABSTRACT

This memorandum is a systematic listing and description of the salient features of English phonology and morphology, accompanied by a listing of parallel features in nonstandard dialects that account for the difficulties the speakers of nonstandard speech experience in the acquisition of standard English. The dialects considered are English as spoken in Negro subcultures and the dialect associated with a Spanish (Mexican) substratum. The information concerning Negro speech is based on various linguistic publications cited in the memorandum. The description of interference associated with a Spanish substratum is primarily inferred from a comparison of English with Spanish structure. This memorandum will be useful in training teachers of standard English as a second dialect as well as to actual practitioners in that field. A revised version is to become part of a Syllabus for the Training of Teachers of Standard English as a Second Dialect, a project carried out within the Teaching the Disadvantaged program of the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching.

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STANDARD ENGLISH AND NONSTANDARD DIALECTS: PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

Robert L. Politzer[1] and Diana E. Bartley[2]

1. INTRODUCTION

The present research memorandum is essentially a brief outline of some of the most important features of standard English phonology and morphology. It is accompanied by a listing of the most representative corresponding features of nonstandard English which interfere with the acquisition of standard speech by speakers of nonstandard dialects. The memorandum is a preliminary version of part of a section on applied linguistics in a forthcoming Syllabus for the Training of Teachers of Standard English as a Second Dialect. The practical purpose of the memorandum is to acquaint the teacher of standard English with the structure of the standard dialect of the pupils he is teaching (knowledge which is not necessarily implied in being a speaker of standard English) and with the most typical features of nonstandard speech.

Since communication with the largest possible audience of teachers and teacher trainees is one of the goals of the teacher training syllabus of which this memorandum is to become a part, the authors decided not to adhere to any specific school of linguistics in the presentation of the material and to follow generally a fairly "traditional" form of presentation

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of grammar. The introduction of some technical concepts in the area of phonetics and morphology was, of course, unavoidable.

In each section, standard English is described first under the heading S, and typical nonstandard phenomena are then listed--whenever pertinent information is available--under the two headings D_1 and D_2. D_1 is used for nonstandard not associated with a known linguistic substratum (i.e., Negro speech). D_2 is used with reference to phenomena associated with a Spanish interference.

The manner in which nonstandard phenomena are listed should not be interpreted to imply that they can be considered as incidental and nonsystematic types of deviations from the standard. We know that from the linguistic point of view nonstandard dialects are coherent "regular" systems of communication comparable to the standard dialect. However, the purpose of the projected teacher training syllabus is not to acquaint teachers with only one specific nonstandard dialect. Therefore, the description of standard English rather than the coherent presentation of any one specific nonstandard was taken as the point of departure and as the principle of organization. In addition, complete descriptions of any one nonstandard are practically nonexistent at present. As a matter of fact, linguists' knowledge of American nonstandard dialects seems quite meager. This is particularly true in the area of nonstandard speech associated with Spanish interference (D_2 above) and most of the materials presented in this memorandum are thus derived from the consideration of interference from Spanish. For the nonstandard speech of the black community, somewhat more material is becoming available. For the purpose of this memorandum the following publications were found to be particularly useful:

Labov, William. Some sources of reading problems for Negro speakers of nonstandard English. In Alexander Prize (Ed.), New directions in elementary English. Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1967.

Labov, William. The non-standard vernacular of the Negro community: some practical suggestions. Seminar in English and Language Art. Temple University, 1967. Mimeographed.

Labov, William, and Cohen, Paul. Some suggestions for teaching standard English to speakers of non-standard urban dialects. Chapter V: English Language Arts Curriculum Revision Project, Grades 5-12, Strand Four: Developing Oral-Aural Skills, Bureau of Curriculum Research of the Board of Education of the City of New York. Mimeographed; to be published.

Labov, William, and Cohen, Paul. Systematic relations of standard and non-standard rules in the grammar of Negro speakers. Project Literacy Reports. No. 8. Ithaca, N Y.: Cornell University, 1967.

Pederson, W. A. Non-standard Negro speech in Chicago. In William A. Stewart (Ed.), Nonstandard speech and the teaching of English, Washington, D.C.: Center of Applied Linguistics, 1964. Pp. 16-20.

Pederson, W. A. Some structural differences in the speech of Chicago Negros. In Roger W. Shuy (Ed.), Social dialects and language learning, Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1964. Pp. 28-37.

Stewart, William A. Continuity and change in American Negro dialects. The Florida Foreign Language Reporter, 1968, VI (1), pp. 3 ff.

Williamson, Juanita. Report on a proposed study of the speech of Negro high school students in Memphis. In Roger W. Shuy (Ed.), Social dialects and language learning. Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1964. Pp. 23-27.

2. GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THE MEMORANDUM

2.1 Classification of Consonants: Consonants are sounds produced by impeding or interfering with the air stream to form a point of articulation. Consonants are classified according to point and manner of articulation and to use of voice.

2.11 Points of articulation: The places at which sounds are produced by the articulators. Articulators are the organs used in the production of speech sounds.

2.111 Bilabial: A sound produced by the partial or complete closure of the upper and lower lips: /b/, /p/, /m/, /w/ (pin, bin, meat, water).

2.112 Labiodental: The upper teeth and lower lip are brought together to form: /f/, /v/ (fat, van).

2.113 Interdental: The tip of the tongue rests between the upper and lower teeth: /θ/, /δ/ (thin, the).

2.114 Dental and alveolar: Dental and alveolar are extremely similar. In the production of a dental the tip of the tongue touches the back of the upper teeth: /d, t/ (Spanish: dar, tomar). In the production of an alveolar the tip of the tongue touches the upper gums: /d/, /t/; /s/, /z/; /l/, /n/, /r/ (den,

ten; sing, zinc; love, no, read).

2.115 Palatal: The surface of the tongue touches the hard palate: /č/, /y/, /ž/, /š/, /j/ (chin, yes, treasure, pressure, gin).

2.116 Velar: The back part of the tongue touches or is held near the soft palate: /g/, /k/, /ŋ/ (good, can, sing).

2.117 Glottal: A sound produced in the larynx by a closing of the vocal chords (also referred to as laryngeal): /h/ (have).

2.12 Manner of articulation: At the same point of articulation different speech sounds may be produced depending on the nature of the obstacle formed at that point. In principle, the obstacle may be complete, partial, intermittent.

2.121 Stop: A sound produced by the complete closure of the air passage followed immediately by the opening of the closure causing the explosion of air, i.e., causing the stop sound: /b/, /p/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/ (bin, pin, tin, dime, can, good).

2.122 Continuants: All sounds which are produced without complete stoppage of the air stream: /f/, /v/, /θ/, /ð/ (fat, van, thin, that).

2.123 Fricative: Formed by continuous

friction produced in the narrowed air passage: /f/, /v/, /θ/, /ð/. S-like sounds are often referred to as sibilants or groove fricatives: /s/, /z/, /š/, /ž/ (sin, zinc, shine, garage).

2.124 Affricate: A stop and a fricative produced at the same point of articulation. Example: In English, /č/ is produced as follows: one first makes a sound similar to /t/ (a stop) which is followed by another sound similar to /š/. /ǰ/ consists of a /d/-sound followed by a sound similar to /ž/: /č/, /ǰ/ (chin, gin).

2.125 Lateral: Air is permitted to escape on either or both sides of the tongue: /l/ (ball).

2.126 Nasal: When the air passage in the nose is open (rather than the air passage in the mouth), a nasal aound is produced: /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ (some, sin, sing).

2.127 Trill: Produced by a vibration of the tongue (or lips or uvula) caused by the passage of air: /rr/ (Spanish perro).

2.128 Flap: Produced by a rapid movement of the tongue across the alveolar ridge: /r/ (Spanish pero); variant of English /t/ (as in batter).

2.129 Semiconsonant: A continuant sound

sound which has the characteristics of both consonant and vowel: /w/, /r/, /y/ (water, rather, yes).

2.13 Voice: Consonants can be classified according to the action of the vocal chords during their production.

2.131 Voiced: The presence of vibration of vocal chords during production of a consonant produces a voiced sound: /b/, /d/ (bin, do).

2.132 Unvoiced: The lack of vibration of the vocal chords during production of a consonant produces an unvoiced sound: /p/, /t/ (pin, to).

2.2 Vowel Classification: Vowel sounds are produced by not impeding the air stream at any of the points of articulation.

2.21 Front-central-back vowels: Vowels are classified as front, central, and back vowels according to whether the tongue is held in the front, the center or the back of the mouth cavity during the production of the vowels; e.g., the vowel of eat is a front vowel, the one of err is central, the one of food is a back vowel.

2.22 High-mid-low vowels: Classified according to the height of the tongue in the oral cavity during the production of the vowel: The vowel of eat is high, the vowel of ate is mid, the first vowel sound of father is low.

2.23 Rounded and unrounded vowels: Classified according to the lip position assumed during their production: If the lips are rounded (as in the production of the vowel of food), the vowel is rounded; if the lips are spread (as in the production of the vowel in eat), the vowel is unrounded.

2.24 Tense vs. lax vowels: Classified according to the relative tenseness of the lips and other speech organs during their production: thus the vowel of eat is tense while the vowel of it is lax.

2.25 Nasal vs. oral vowels: Classified according to whether air is allowed to pass through the nasal passages during their production. If the nasal passages remain closed to the sound, the vowel is oral. If the nasal passages are used as resonators the vowel is nasal. In English, vowels produced before or after nasal consonants (e.g., the vowel sounds of down or mom) tend to be nasalized. The symbol ∿ is used to indicate nasalization.

2.3 Other technical terms used in this memorandum include the concepts of phoneme, allophone, morpheme, and allomorph.

2.31 Phoneme: A minimum unit of sound that can be used for distinctive purposes: /p/ and /b/ are different phonemes because they can be used to distinguish the words pit and bit. Phonemes are

in contrastive distribution; in other words, sounds are phonemes if they can occur in the same position and if the use of one as opposed to the other can make a difference in meaning. The symbol / / is utilized to indicate phonemes.

2.32 Allophone: Variant of the same phoneme. The [p^h] of <u>pit</u>, produced with a slight puff of air (aspiration) is a variant of the /p/ phoneme and so is the [p] of <u>spit</u>, produced without this puff of air. The use of one allophone of a phoneme as opposed to another allophone of the same phoneme cannot bring about a change in meaning. Allophones are in complementary distribution. They cannot occur in the same positions: e.g., the [p] of <u>spit</u> occurs after s, the [p^h] of <u>pit</u> occurs initially before vowels. Allophones are written in square brackets [ ]; [p] and [p^h] are allophones of the phoneme /p/.

2.33 Morpheme: The minimum unit of speech that has any recognizable meaning or function; thus the word <u>hats</u> is made up of two morphemes: the one indicating "hat" and the second one indicating "plural." Morphemes are enclosed in braces { } .

2.34 Allomorph: Variant of the same morpheme. Thus the plural morpheme used in <u>hats</u> (2.33) above can appear as {s} in the word <u>hats</u> as {z} in the word <u>dogs</u>, etc. Allomorphs of a morpheme are put in braces { } .

2.35 Summary of linguistic symbols to be used throughout the memorandum:

/ / indicates phonemes

[ ] indicates allophones

{ } indicates morphemes and allomorphs

3. STANDARD ENGLISH AND NONSTANDARD DIALECTS: CONSONANTS:

3.1 Labial Consonants /p/, /b/, /m/, /w/

3.11 /p/ (unvoiced bilabial stop)

S: Produced by the complete closure of the lips which block the air passage. The closure is immediately followed by the opening of the lips which release the breath and produce the sound. The initial /p/ is aspirated [p^h], whereas in a consonant cluster it loses aspiration: <u>spill</u> [spil]. In syllable-final or word-final position, e.g., <u>cap</u> [kæ p], it is usually unreleased (the full explosion of air is missing).

D_2: Initial /p/ is unaspirated.

3.12 /b/ (voiced bilabial stop)

S: Produced like a /p/ but with the additional feature of voice. The sound is unaspirated in all positions in English, and unreleased in final position (<u>mob</u>/mab^{-}/) or when followed by another stop: <u>abdomen</u> [æb^{-} dəmən].

D_2: The intervocalic allophone of /b/ is a

continuant sound: [β] .

3.13 /m/ (voiced bilabial nasal)

S: The lips close completely while the vocal chords produce voice. /m/ occurs in all positions without change.

D_1: /m/ in final position remains in the form of various degrees of nasalization of the preceding vowel; mom becomes /mã/.

D_2: Speakers must learn to hear and pronounce final consonant /m/. /m/ is pronounced only initially, intervocalically, or before labial consonants. Before other consonants, nasals which have the same point of articulation as the following consonant are substituted, e.g., sometime becomes [sɑntaɪn].

3.14 /w/ (voiced bilabial semiconsonant)

S: The lips are slightly rounded while the back of the tongue is raised toward the velum, as in wash/waš/.

D_2: /gw/ may be substituted for initial /w/, e.g., wash/waš/ becomes /gwaš/.

3.2 Labiodentals /f/ /v/

3.21 S: When the lower lip is brought against the upper teeth without stopping the air passage, the /f/ is produced; roof/ruf/. In standard English, it is the same in all positions.

3.22 /v/ (voiced labiodental)

S: The /v/ is produced in the same manner as the /f/ with the additional feature of voice. It is same in all positions, as in vivacious/vaɪve ʃəs/.

D_2: Spanish does not have the sound /v/. The normal tendency is to substitute /b/ or the bilabial continuant [β].

3.3 Interdental /θ/ /ð/

3.31 /θ/ (unvoiced interdental slit fricative)

S: The tip of the tongue is placed against the edge of the upper teeth without stopping the air passage.

D_1: The initial /θ/ becomes a weakly articulated /t/- like sound; thing /θiŋ/ becomes ting/tiŋ/. The final /θ/ is frequently merged with /f/; Ruth /ruθ/ becomes /ruf/.

D_2: /t/ or /s/ may be substituted for /θ/. Thin /θin/ becomes sin/sin/ or tin/tin/.

3.32 /d/ (voiced interdental slit fricative)

S: The /ð/ is produced like /θ/ but with the addition of voice. It appears in all positions of standard English without change.

D_1: The initial /ð/ becomes a weakly articulated /d/-like sound; then/ðen/ becomes den/den/. The final /d/ is frequently merged with /v/; bathe/beð/ becomes /bev/.

D_2: Speakers tend to confuse /ð/ of English with their intervocalic allophone of /d/ which is

pronounced [ð] . It is difficult for speakers of Spanish to transpose [d] to initial position. The / ð/ of English becomes /d/ in initial position; this (ðɪ z) becomes /dis/.

3.4 Alveolar /t/, /d/, /s/, /z/, /l/, /n/, /r/

3.41 /t/ (unvoiced alveolar stop)

S: To produce this sound the tip of the tongue is brought against the aveolar ridge. Initially, it is aspirated, and in final position, it may be aspirated, unaspirated, or unreleased. In a consonant cluster, it is unaspirated. When followed by another consonant, it may be unreleased, e.g., expertly /ẹkspərt̄ li/.

D_1: Final /t/ becomes a glottal stop but more often disappears entirely, e.g., boot/but/ becomes /bu/.

D_2: In initial position, /t/ tends to be unaspirated. Final /t/ may disappear.

3.42 /d/ (voiced alveolar stop)

S: /d/ is produced like a /t/ and is unaspirated in all positions. In syllable-final or word-final positions, it is usually unreleased: deed /did̄/.

D_1: Final /d/ may be devoiced to /t/-like form or disappear entirely; feed becomes feet /fit/; road becomes row /ro/.

D_2: Final /d/ may be pronounced very weakly or may completely disappear.

3.43 /s/ (unvoiced groove fricative)

S: A deep groove in the center of the tongue forms a narrow channel through which a narrow constriction of air passes. /s/ remains the same in all positions.

D_1: /s/ may become so weakened after a vowel that it is not heard. This, however, is rare. Kiss becomes /ki/.

D_2: Final /s/ may be replaced by aspiration /h/ and/or disappear completely; goose /gus/ becomes /gu^h/ or /gu/. (Caribbean Basin)

3.44 /z/ (voiced groove fricative)

S: /z/ is formed like /s/ with the addition of voice. /z/ is produced the same in all positions.

D_1: /z/ may become so weakened after a vowel that it is not heard: has /haez/ becomes /hæ/. This, however, is rare.

D_2: The sound [z] in Spanish exists as a variant of /s/; it is produced before voiced consonants. In other positions, native speakers have trouble distinguishing a voiced /z/ from an unvoiced /s/: music /myuzik/ becomes /musik/. Final /z/ may disappear completely; has becomes /hæ/. (Caribbean Basin)

3.45 /l/ (voiced alveolar lateral)

S: The tongue is placed against the alveolar ridge; there is an opening to one or both sides. The

front of the tongue remains relatively flat. The /l/ phoneme has also an allophone which is produced with the front of the tongue sloping downward and the back of the tongue raised against the velum. This allophone is usually found after vowels and as a syllabic nucleus, e.g., <u>railing</u> /reliŋ/; <u>muscle</u> /məsl/.

D_1: /l/ may disappear or may be replaced by a vowel glide: <u>toll</u> /tol/ becomes <u>toe</u>/to/; <u>help</u> / hɛlp/ becomes /hɛp/; Paul /pɔl/ becomes /pɔ/.

3.46 /n/ (voiced alveolar nasal)

S: The tongue is placed against the alveolar ridge while the vocal chords produce voice.

D_1: /n/ in final position remains in the form of various degrees of nasalization of the preceeding vowel: <u>man</u> /mæn/ becomes /mæ̃/.

D_2: /n/ before any consonants other than a dental is replaced by a nasal having the same point of articulation as the following consonant: <u>It can be</u> / It kæn bi/ becomes /It kæm be/.

3.47 /r/ (voiced alveolar semiconsonant; also referred to as a retroflex)

S: Although this sound has various dialectical forms, the most common variety in the majority of dialects can be described as follows: the tip of the tongue is turned upward and slightly toward the back of the mouth (thus, the

reference "retroflex"); the sides of the tongue are against the back teeth. It is found in all positions.

D_1: In many words (like fear, car) the /r/ is replaced by a lengthened vowel (center glide). Often /r/ is not pronounced in any position: sore becomes /sɔ/.

D_2: A flapped or trilled /r/, /rr/ may be substituted for the English continuant /r/.

3.5 Palatals /č, ǰ, š, ž, y̌/

3.51 /c/ (unvoiced palatal affricate)

S: The sound is produced in two steps: it begins with a sound similar to /t/. Then a /š/-like sound is produced: church /čərč/.

D_2 Since Spanish does not distinguish the phonemes /č/ and /š/, /š/ may be substituted for /č/. This is especially true of speakers of Spanish dialects in which the /č/ phoneme is often realized with a [š] allophone: chicken /čɪkən/ becomes /šikən/.

3.52 /ǰ/ (voiced palatal affricate)

S: This sound is the voiced counterpart of /č/. It begins with a sound similar to /d/ and then a /ž/-like sound is produced: judge /ǰəǰ/.

D_2: Speakers may not distinguish /ǰ/ from /č/ and /š/.

3.53 /š/ (unvoiced palatal groove fricative)

S: Produced like /š/ but with the front of the tongue curved upward, as in shame /šem/.

D_2: /č/ may be substituted for /š/.

3.54 /ž/ (voiced palatal groove fricative)

S: /ž/ is produced like /š/ but with the addition of voice. It generally occurs in medial position and appears in final position only in borrowed words: treasure /trɛžər/; garage /garaž/.

D_2: /ž/ is absent in Spanish. Generally /č/ is substituted so that garage /garaž/ might become /garač/.

3.55 /y/ (voiced palatal semiconsonant)

S: The front of the tongue is brought close to the alveolar ridge; the tip of the tongue points to the upper teeth, as in lawyer /lɔyər/; young /yaŋ/.

D_2: [ǰ], [ž] are allophones of /y/. In many dialects of Spanish, [ǰ], [ž] replace the initial [y]. This means that yes /yɛs/ will be produced as /ǰɛs/ or /žɛs/.

3.6 Velars /g/, /k/, /ŋ/

3.61 /k/ (unvoiced velar stop)

S: The back of the tongue is placed against the velum. Initially, it is aspirated; in a consonant cluster after /s/, it is unaspirated, and in final position, it is generally unreleased: kick [k^hɪk̚]; skill [skɪl].

D_1: Final /k/ sometimes becomes a glottal stop but more often disappears, e.g., kick becomes /kɪʔ/ or /kɪ/.

3.62 /g/ (voiced velar stop)

S: Produced like a /k/ but with the addition of voice. It is always unaspirated and in syllable-final or word-final position, it may be unreleased; gag is pronounced [g æ$\bar{g}$].

D_1: Final /g/ will either be devoiced or disappear; gag /gæg/ becomes /gæk/ or /gæ/.

D_2: Final /g/ may not be pronounced; big /b ɪg/ becomes /bi/.

3.63 /ŋ/ (voiced velar nasal)

S: The back of the tongue is placed against the velum while the vocal chords produce voice, e.g., ring /r ɪ ŋ/.

D_2: [ ] exists in Spanish only as a variant of the nasal before velar consonants. Thus English /ŋ/ may be pronounced as [n]. Sing /siŋ/ becomes /sin/.

3.7 Glottal /h/

3.71 /h/ (unvoiced glottal fricative)

S: Produced by the vibration of the relaxed vocal chords. The oral cavity is unobstructed. The sound generally appears in the beginning of stressed syllables: hat /hæt/.

D_2: The phoneme /h/ does not exist in Spanish. Speakers of Spanish may omit it or substitute a velar continuant /x/. Have /hæv/ becomes /xæf/ or /xæ/ or /xɑ/ etc.

3.8 Summary of Chief Characteristics of Consonantal Phenomena in Dialects

D_1:	Stops	Unvoiced stops /t, k/ tend to disappear in final position, however, sometimes they become glottal stops. Voiced stops /d, g/ may become devoiced or disappear.
	slit fricative	The unvoiced interdental slit fricative /θ/ will either become a /t/-like sound or merge with the labiodental fricative /f/ in final position. The voiced interdental slit fricative /ð/ follows the pattern of its unvoiced counterpart, thereby becoming a weakly articulated /d/-like sound or merging with /v/ in final position. Both the unvoiced and voiced groove fricatives /s, z/ may become sufficiently weakened after a vowel so as not to be heard. The voiced alveolar lateral /l/ in intervocalic, middle, or final position will usually become a back unrounded glide. The nasals /m, n/ in final position often remain in the form of various degrees of nasalization of the preceeding vowel. The voiced alveolar semiconsonant /r/ in final position often becomes a lengthened vowel (a central glide). Intervocalically, some speakers may not produce the /r/.
	groove fricative	
	lateral	
	nasals	
	semiconsonant	
D_2:	stops	In Spanish, initial unvoiced stop consonants /p/, /t/, /k/ are unaspirated. Final voiced consonants may be pronounced very weakly or disappear. Intervocalic /b/ of

fricative	English tends to become fricative [β] of Spanish. [b] or [β] of Spanish is often substituted for /v/ since this sound is absent in Spanish. /h/ may be omitted or more typically, substituted by [x]. The
slit fricative	slit fricative /s/ may be substituted for /θ/. Since [δ] exists in Spanish only as an intervocalic allophone of /d/ it is difficult for speakers of Spanish to transpose [δ] of Spanish to initial position in English.
groove fricative	Final /s/ may be replaced by aspiration /h/ or may disappear completely.* Unless it is produced before a voiced consonant in English as it is in Spanish, a voiced /z/ becomes unvoiced. Final /z/ or /s/ may disappear completely. The sibilant /š/ is sometimes substituted for /č/ and vice-versa; /č/ is sometimes substituted for /š/ and also for /ž/. /ǰ/ is often not distinguished from /č/ and /š/. /ǰ/ may replace /y/ in initial position. /gw/ may
semi-consonant	be substituted for the initial semi-consonant /w/. A trilled or flapped /rr/r/ (produced with the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge) may be substituted for the English semiconsonant.

3.9 Consonant Clusters: Standard English is a language comparatively rich in syllable initial as well as final consonant clusters.

3.91 Initial consonant clusters

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* Caribbean Basin

S: There are 39 characteristic sequences of consonants in initial word position in English. These initial consonant clusters are gl, sl, →pl, kl, bl, fl, pr, tr, fr, gr, dr, kr, θr, br←*, sr, šr, st, sp, sm, sk, sn, sf, dw, kw, tw, sw, hw, θw, fy, ky, my, by, py, vy, hy, str, skr, spr, spl, skw.

D_1: In initial consonant clusters involving /r/, there is a variety of pronunciations. /str/ of standard English may be heard as /skr/; /sr/ may be heard as /sw/, /sr/, /sf/. Examples: <u>stream</u> becomes <u>scream</u> and <u>shrimp</u> becomes /šimp/. The /r/ tends to disappear principally after /θ/, often after /p/, /b/, /k/, /g/, and before a back-rounded vowel. Example: <u>throw</u> becomes /θo/.

D_2: Speakers tend to prefix [ɛ] to initial consonant clusters beginning with /s/; <u>spanish</u> /spænɪš/ becomes /ɛspanɪš/.

3.92 Final consonant clusters

S: There are infinitely more consonant clusters in final position than in initial position. They are divided into two categories:

1) Those (65 in number) which occur at the end of stem morphemes, e.g., /nd/ <u>lend</u>, /rd/ <u>card</u>, /rǰ/, <u>surge</u>, /rθ/ <u>worth</u>, /mps/

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*The 12 initial consonant clusters included between the arrows also exist in Spanish.

glimpse, etc.

2) Those (86 in number) which are formed by the addition of /s/, /z/, /d/, or /t/ as inflections.

Examples:

addition of /s/: /θs/ wreaths, /lfs/ gulfs

addition of /z/: /δz/ breathes, /lmz/ films

addition of /d/: /zd/ raised, /lǰd/ bulged

addition of /t/: /šst/ pushed, /nčt/ lunched

D_1: The major tendency is to simplify final consonant clusters to single consonants. In the simplification process it is usually the last element which is dropped off. Principal clusters affected are those ending in: /t, d, s, z/. Examples of those clusters are /st/, /ft/, /nt/, /nd/, /ld/, /zd/, /md/.

This phenomenon of cluster simplification is observed in the following examples: past becomes pas /pæs/, mind becomes min /main/, and sift becomes sif /sif/.

However, in the case of the /ld/ cluster, the simplification consists in the loss of the final consonant and the disappearance (or vocalization) of the l: sold /sold/ becomes sow /so/. After stressed vowels, some consonant clusters are reduced in such a way that either the final consonant or the preceding one may disappear. In consonant clusters ending in /s/ or /z/ it is

usually the consonant preceding the /s/ or /z/ which disappears. This phenomenon is particularly common in forms where the /s/ represents the third person singular of the verb to be: that's / ðaets/ becomes /dæs/.

D_2: Syllable final or word final clusters are nonexistent in Spanish. In the effort to produce standard English final clusters, one of two solutions may be taken: (a) a supporting vowel may be interpolated: friends /frɛndz/ becomes /frɛndɛs/; (b) one or several consonants may be omitted: friends becomes /frɛn/.

4. STANDARD ENGLISH AND NONSTANDARD DIALECTS: VOWELS

4.1 General Summary of Vowel System: Standard English

beat /i/ — /u/ boot

bit /ɪ/ — /ʊ/ good

bait /e/ — /o/ boat

/ə/ but

bet /ɛ/ — /ɔ/ bought

bat /æ/

/a/ hot

Diphthongs: /aɪ/ eye

/aʊ/ cow

/ɔɪ/ soil

4.2 Front Vowels

4.21 /i/

S: High front tense vowel, e.g., beat /bit/. Occurs in all stressed positions: initially, as in eat /it/, medially, as in beat /bit/, and in final position,

as in me /mi/. The vowel is slightly diphthongal. The tongue glides upward during the production of the sound.

D_1: Before the /r/ phoneme /i/ merges with /e/. Both fear /fir/ and fare /fer/ are pronounced with a sound close to /e/.

D_2: /i/ is produced as a very high non-diphthongal sound.

4.22 /ɪ/

S: Lower high front lax: bit /bɪt /. /ɪ / occurs principally in the initial syllable: it /ɪt/, and medially: sit /sɪt/.

D_1: There is no distinction between /ɪ / and / ɛ/ especially before a nasal consonant; pin and pen are pronounced alike in such a way that a sound intermediary between / ɪ/ and / ɛ/ is used in both words.

D_2: Some speakers may not distinguish /i/ as in beat and /ɪ / as in bit since Spanish has only one /i/ phoneme, whereas English has two sounds in the high front vowel area. /i/ may be substituted for /ɪ /; bit / bɪt/ becomes /bit/.

4.23 /e/

S: Mid-front tense vowel, e.g., bait /bet/. It generally occurs in diphthongal form. /e/ can occur in all positions, in syllable initial position, as in ate /et/, medial position, bait /bet/, or syllable final position, bay /be/.

D_2: A non-diphthongal /e/-sound may be substituted.

4.24 /ɛ/

S: Lower mid-front lax, e.g., bet /bɛt/. When stressed, it occurs initially, as in ember /ɛmbər/, and medially, as in respect /rispɛkt/, but not finally. When unstressed, it may occur in all positions.

D_1: The distinction between /I/ and /E/ may be absent before nasals: pin /pɪn/ pronounced like pen /pɛn/.

D_2: Some speakers do not distinguish /e/ as in bait from /ɛ/ as in bet. /e/ of Spanish tends to be substituted for [ɛ] of English.

4.25 /æ/

S: Higher low front tense, e.g., bat /bæt/. When stressed, it occurs initially: arrogance /ærəgans/, and medially: cat /kæt/. When semistressed it may appear medially: contact /kantækt/. /æ/ may appear unstressed in words pronounced in isolation, but in normal speech the unstressed /æ/ tends to become /ə/, e.g., assist /əsɪst/. Only overpreciseness would cause the /æ/ to remain /æsɪst/.

D_2: This sound does not exist in Spanish and speakers have trouble producing /æ/. /a/ may be substituted: cat /kæt/ becomes /kat/.

4.3 Back Vowels

4.31 /u/

S: High back tense round vowel produced with a diphthongal glide, e.g., boot /but/. It may appear syllable initially, as in ooze /uz/, medially, as in food /fud/ or finally, as in shoe /šu/.

D_2: Non-diphthongal very high /u/ may be substituted.

4.32 /ʊ/

S: Lower high back lax round: good /gʊd/. Usually found in medial position: good /gʊd/; it is very rarely found syllable initially, and it is never syllable final.

D_1: /ʊ/ and /ɔ/ merge before /r/; both tore and tour are pronounced with a sound close to /ɔ/. When /ʊ/ is followed by an /r/ the latter may be lost and /ʊ/ may become a long /o/; poor /pʊr/ becomes Poe /po/, sure /šʊr/ becomes show /šo/.

D_2: /ʊ/ as in good is not distinguished from /u/ as in food. /u/ may be substituted for /ʊ/.

4.33 /o/

S: Mid-back round vowel which is diphthongal in pronunciation, e.g., boat /bot/. The vowels appear in all positions in the syllable; oat /ot/, boat /bot/, go /go/.

D_2: A non-diphthongal /o/ vowel may be substituted.

4.34 /ɔ/

S: Lower mid-back round vowel often referred to as "open o" as in bought = /bɔt/. It appears syllable

initially, as in awesome /ɔsam/, medially, as in bought /bɔt/, in isolation, as in awe /ɔ/, or finally, as in raw /rɔ/.

D_1: /ɔ/ is often produced as a sound similar to /o/: Raw /rɔ/ becomes row /ro/.

D_2: /ɔ/ as in bought is not distinguished from /o/ as boat. /o/ is substituted for /ɔ/.

4.4 Central Vowels

4.41 /ə/

S: Mid-central unround vowel. It appears in the stressed position as unrounded vowel [ʌ] as in but and in the unstressed position with slightly higher and more frontal tongue position as [ə] as in sofa. Thus /ə/ is probably the most common vowel found in unstressed position in English.

D_2: Speakers generally substitute /a/ or /o/ for stressed /ə/ and other vowels for unstressed /ə/. Hut /hət/ becomes /hat/; sofa /sofə/ becomes /sofa/.

4.42 /a/

S: Low central unround vowel, as in father /faðər/ of most American dialects. A shorter form of the vowel occurs in words like bottle /batl/, not /nat/. The vowel occurs normally in syllable initial and medial position: art /art/; far /far/.

4.5 Diphthongs:

4.51 /aɪ/

S: Fronting diphthong, e.g., eye /aɪ/. The movement from the syllabic vowel to a high front off glide is upward and forward.

D_1: Change of the /ai/ to /æe/ is common. The vowel sounds in high and wide are produced like the vowel in cat: wide /waid/ becomes /wæd/. The diphthong /ai/ may also change to the sound /a/: time /taɪm/ becomes Tom /tam/. Pride becomes /prad/.

4.52 /ɔɪ/

S: Fronting diphthong, as in Roy /rɔɪ/. The movement from the syllabic vowel to the high front off glide is upward and forward.

D_1: Change of the diphthong /ɔɪ/ to /ɔ/ is common; oil /ɔɪl/ becomes all [ɔl], joy /jɔɪ/ becomes jaw [jɔ]. However, words like raw, which in standard English are produced with /ɔ/, are often produced with a sound similar to /o/: raw /rɔ/ becomes row /ro/. (See 4.34).

4.53 /aʊ/

S: Retracting diphthong as in cow /kaʊ/. The diphthongal movement goes from the syllabic vowel to a high back vowel, thus, upward and back.

4.6 Summary of Chief Characteristics of Nonstandard Dialects

D_1: Major tendencies include vowel mergers before r: fear /fir/ becomes fair /fer/. /ɔ/ and /u/ also merge before r; tour /tʊr/ becomes tore /tɔr/. /o/ and /ɔ/ merge: raw /rɔ/ becomes row /ro/. /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ are

not distinguished before a nasal consonant: pin /pɪn/ becomes pen /pen/. The dipthong /ai/ is produced as the simple vowel /ae/: wide /waɪd/ becomes /wæd/. /ai/ may also change to the sound /a/: time /taɪm/ becomes Tom /tam/. The dipthong /ɔi/ is produced as /ɔ/: oil becomes all /ɔl/.

D_2: Speakers have difficulty in distinguishing /i/ and /ɪ/: beat and bit merge. They may also not distinguish /e/ from /ɛ/, /ʊ/, from /u/ and /o/ from /ɔ/. The following pairs may thus merge: bait and bet; look and Luke; boat and bought. The sound /æ/ does not exist in Spanish and therefore speakers may substitute /a/. The phonemes /i/, /e/, /o/, /u/ may be produced without the glides characteristic of their pronunciation in standard English.

5. STANDARD ENGLISH AND NONSTANDARD DIALECTS: MORPHOLOGY

5.1 Nouns

5.11 Regular plural formation:

S: The most common allomorphs of the plural noun morpheme are {s ∿ z ∿ əz}.

{s} occurs after stems ending in unvoiced consonants: cat → cats /kæt → kæts/.

{z} occurs after stems ending in voiced consonants and /ə/: broom → brooms /brum → brumz/.

{əz} occurs after stems ending in /s/, /z/, /š/, /č/, /ž/, /ǰ/: witch → witches /wɪč → wɪčəz/.

D_1: The final {s} {z} {əz} morphemes of the regular plural formation are preserved. Even the reduction of final consonant clusters does not seem to affect the plural morphemes, but rather the singular form. Thus, plurals like /tɛsəz/ for tests /tɛsts/ may appear, because the regular {əz} form is added to a singular /tɛs/ which was created by the fall of final /t/ of test.

D_2: Final -s (or -z) may disappear. Thus no distinctive plural form may be used.

5.12 Irregular plural formation:

S: The most common type of irregular plural formation involves a change in the stems and/or the use of a suffix other than {s ∿ z ∿ əz}.

Suffix {əz} occurs in conjunction with a stem change /s → z/ in only one example: house → houses /haʊs → haʊzəz/.

Suffix {z} occurs when stem change /f → v/ is found: knife → knives /naɪf → naɪvz/. This plural formation exists in about 12 words.

Suffix {z} occurs when the stem change {θ → ð} is found: path → paths /pæθ → pæðz/.

Suffix {ən} occurs only in a few cases: ox → oxen /ɑks → ɑksen/. It may also occur in conjunction with a change in the stem: child → children /čaɪld-č ɪldrən/.

Stem vowel changes without use of a suffix occur

in a few cases, such as goose → geese /gus → gis/.

Zero suffix. Some nouns keep the same form in the plural (generally used for animals). deer → deer /dir → dir/, fox → fox /faks → faks/.

Retention of Latin plurals. Some nouns borrowed from Latin retain the original Latin plural form: index → indices /indeks → indisiz/, alumnus → alumni /əlɑmnəs → əlɑmnaɪ/.

D_1: There is some tendency to "regularize" irregular plurals, but very often the -/s/ /-z/ endings are added to irregular plurals: mens is used instead of men.

D_2: Irregular plurals may be "regularized": "deers" for deer. But, more typically, no distinctive plural form is used because of the problem of producing final consonant clusters (see 3.92).

5.13 Possessive morpheme

S: The possessive morpheme has four allomorphs, the first three of which are phonologically conditioned like the plural morpheme: {s ∿ z ∿ ə z ∿ ϕ}.

{s} occurs after stems ending in unvoiced consonants: Pat's /pæts/.

{z} occurs after stems ending in voiced consonants and / /: Samantha's /səmænθə'z/.

{z} occurs after stems ending in /s/, /z/, /š/,

/č/, /ǰ/, /ž/: Rose's /rozəz/.

{ϕ} occurs after the plural allomorphs {z} or {s} and after proper names ending in /z/ or /s/: St. James' Palace /jemz pæləs/.

D_1: The possessive morpheme is likely to disappear completely--probably because the possessive case is not part of the structure of the dialect. Simple juxtaposition of the two nouns is used to indicate possession: "My father friend" for my father's friend. The fact that this is a morphological phenomenon rather than just the automatic result of the phonological fall of -s, is confirmed by similar usages with pronouns as "we book" for our book.

D_2: A prepositional phrase (e.g., of George) may be used instead of the possessive. If the possessive is used, the disappearance of the possessive morpheme may lead to simple juxtaposition of nouns; George house is used instead of George's house.

5.2 Verbs

The English verb has five morphological forms: the simple form (walk), the present participle (walking), the third person singular present tense (walks), the past tense (walked) and the past participle (walked).

5.21 Third person singular present

S: The third person singular is marked by a morpheme which has the regular allomorphs

{s ∿ z ∿ ə z}.

The latter are distributed according to the same principles are the variants of the regular plural morpheme of the noun (see 5.11).

D_1: The third person singular is morphologically not distinct from the simple form of the verb: He speaks becomes "he speak." This phenomenon is not merely due to the fall of the final -s as can be seen through forms like "he be," "he do," "he have." Under the influence of the standard, the {s, z} allomorphs which are not significant in the dialect are often added in forms where they have no function: "I speaks," "I says."

D_2: Fall of final -s (probably a purely phonological phenomenon) makes the third person singular identical with the simple forms.

5.22 Past tense and past participle (regular)

S: The regular morphological class of verbs undergoes no change in the stem vowel and forms the past tense and part participle by adding {d}, {t}, and {ə d}. {d}, {t}, and {əd} are added to the simple form according to the following principle:

{d} after voiced consonants and/or vowels: sobbed /sabd/;

{t} after unvoiced consonants: walked /wɔlkt/;

{əd} after t and d: added /æd æd/.

D_1: Final /t/ and /d/ are deleted after other consonants, thus making the past identical with the present: passed /pæst/ becomes pass /pæs/.

D_2: Present tenses may be used instead of past tenses either for syntactical reasons or because of inability to produce final consonant clusters. /ɛ/ may be interpolated before /t/ or /d/. Passed /pæst/ is pronounced /pæsɛd/ or /pasɛd/.

5.23 Irregular verb classes

S: The irregular morphological classes either (a) undergo a change in the stem vowel and/or (b) do not form the past tense and past participle by adding {d}, {t}, or {ə d}.

The irregular verb classes and the formation of the past tense and past participle of the particular verbs within each class are illustrated by the following chart (see Chart 1).

D_1: While many irregular past tense forms correspond to standard English (told, kept), other past tenses (wrote, spoke, began, etc.) do not. Quite frequently the standard past participle form is used in the past tense function; e.g., "he taken," "they drunk."

D_2: Irregular forms may be "regularized" by attempts to use the {d}, {t}, or {ə d} morphemes. Present tense forms may be substituted for past tense forms. Past participle and past tenses may be confused. Typically the past tense form is

CHART I

Irregular Verb Classes of Standard English

Class	Past Tense		Past Participle		Example	Number of Pattern Occurrences	Occurrences
	Stem	Ending	Stem	Ending			
1	No Change*	No Change**	No Change*	No Change**	bet, bet, bet	19	bet, burst, cast, cost, cut, hit, hurt, let, put, quit, rid, set, shed, sheet, spit, split, spread, thrust, yet
2	i → ə	No Change	i → ə	No Change	dig, dug, dug	14	dig, cling, fling, shrink, suit (intr.), sling, slink, spin, sting stink, string, swing, win, wring
3	i → ɛ	t	i → ɛ	t	creep, crept, crept	9	creep, dial, feel, keep, leap, mean, sleep, sweep, weep
4	i → ɛ	No Change	i → ɛ	No Change	bleed, bled, bled	8	bleed, breed, feed, lead, meet, plead, read, speed
5	i → æ	No Change	i → ə	No Change	begin, began, begun	7	begin, drink, ring, sing, sink (tr.), spring, swim
6	ai → o	No Change	ai → ɪ	ə n	write, wrote, written	7	drive, ride, rise, smile, strive, thrive, write
7	No Change	d → t	No Change	d → t	bend, bent, bent	6	bend, build, lend, rend, send, spend
8	i → o	No Change	i → o	ə n	freeze, froze, frozen	4	freeze, speak, steal, weave
9	ai → au	No Change	ai → au	No Change	find, found, found	4	bind, find, grind, wind
10	o → u	No Change	No Change	n	blow, blew, blown	4	blow, grow, know, throw
11	ɛ →	No Change	ɛ →	No Change	bear, bore, borne	4	bear, swear, tear, wear
12	e → ʊ	No Change	No Change	ə n	shake, shook, shaken	3	forsake, shake, take

*The stem vowel of the simple form is preserved.

**No past or past participle ending has been added to the stem.

substituted for the past participle as "He has took."

5.231 Irregular verbs: Special cases

S: Some irregular morpological classes contain only one or two verbs. This category of verbs includes the verbs be, have, do. Their morphological structures can be classified as follows:

Simple Form	Present Participle	3rd Singular Present Tense	Past Tense	Past Participle
be	being	is	was, were	been
have	having	has	had	had
do	doing	does	did	done

D_1: The form be is generalized throughout the present, usually to indicate general or repeated action or quality; e.g., "He be smart" (in most contexts, be as a copula is dropped altogether, as will be pointed out in the discussion of syntax). "Ain't" is used as the negative of be. Have and do are used for has and does, but has and does are often introduced for have and do, probably as "hypercorrection" under the influence of standard speech.

5.24 Class of verbal auxiliaries

S: This class comprises the verbs can, could, will, would, shall, should, may, might,

must. Since these words do not show verbal inflection (no suffix in third person singular present tense form) they are not considered in the same morphological class as other verbs but rather a special class of verbal auxiliaries.

D_1: Most of the morphological forms of the verbal auxiliaries are probably the automatic result of phonological structures of the dialects. Thus, must is reduced to mus /məs/ and the loss of final -l results in the complete deletion of will; e.g., "She will be coming" becomes "She 'll be coming" (colloquial standard), which in turn may become "She be coming" (nonstandard).

5.3 Personal Pronouns

S: According to morphological classification, English has eight personal pronouns, each of which has four distinct forms.

I	we	you	he	she	it	they	who
me	us	you	him	her	it	them	whom
my	our	your	his	her	its	their	whose
mine	ours	yours	his	hers	its	theirs	whose

D_1: Most of the problems connected with pronouns are syntactical rather than morphological. The possessives disappear, sometimes perhaps for phonological reasons (e.g., their becomes they / ðe/ in r-less speech), but more often because of the already mentioned lack of a possessive case (see 5.13).

5.4 Comparison of Adjectives

S: The regular formation of the adjective of standard English includes the morphemes er {ər} for the comparative degree and est {əst} for the superlative degree. Example:

Degree	Positive	Comparative	Superlative
	small	smaller	smallest
(phonological transcription)	/smɔl/	/smɔlər/	/smɔləst/

Also, adjectives ending in ng / ŋ / add /g/ to the stem in the comparative or superlative forms:

Degree	Positive	Comparative	Superlative
	strong	stronger	strongest
(phonological transcription	/strɔŋ/	/strɔŋgər/	/strɔŋgəst/

Orthographic changes also occur. Adjectives which end in y, change the y to i before the comparative and superlative morphemes and adjectives that end in a final consonant following /i, ɛ, æ, ʊ, a/ double that consonant before the comparative and superlative morphemes. Example:

y → i change

Degree	Positive	Comparative	Superlative
form	pretty	prettier	prettiest
	doubling of final consonant		
Degree	Positive	Comparative	Superlative
form	thin	thinner	thinnest

Irregular comparison can take two forms:

a) Stem change from positive form; the comparative and superlative are formed on a different stem than the positive stem. Example:

Degree	Positive	Comparative	Superlative
form	bad	worse	worst

b) Use of more and most in the formation of the comparative and superlative forms. Example:

Degree	Positive	Comparative	Superlative
form	beautiful	more beautiful	most beautiful

D_1: Both the more and -er type of comparative are used but in different distribution from the standard as "more smart" instead of smarter. Quite often the more and -er forms are used both in conjunction as "He more smarter."

D_2: More and most tend to be used for the comparative and superlative of adjectives for which standard English requires of the {ər} and {ə st} morphemes; "more smart" is used instead of smarter.

The authors hope this preliminary listing of some of the salient phonological and morphological problems encountered in standard English by speakers of nonstandard dialects will prove helpful not only in training teachers but also to those already actively engaged in teaching standard English to speakers of dialects. The authors

welcome comments, criticism, and specific suggestions concerning the language problems of speakers of nonstandard dialects and the interference with the acquisition of standard speech. Constructive contributions will be used and acknowledged in the teacher training syllabus, projected for publication in January 1970.